

# America First BULLETIN

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## PEACE

### Reisner Warns Of War's Costs

All Able-bodied Youth  
Involved, He Says

American foreign policy today should change its course toward a formula of "peace in the Atlantic and in the Pacific so that the resources of our civilization may be supplied to the good of mankind instead of to its destruction," Dr. Edward H. Reisner, professor of education at Columbia University, declared this week.

Speaking before 1,000 student representatives of fifty-one New York City high schools, Dr. Reisner cited the enormous costs that will follow if this country is maneuvered into a war by a belligerent minority.

"Such a war would mean the raising, equipping and maintaining overseas of an army which would include every able-bodied youth between the ages of twenty and thirty and perhaps between eighteen and thirty-five," he said.

"It would mean death for millions of these men and disabling wounds for millions more. It would mean that for those who need it, the money which could be spent for education, for better housing, for better food and clothing, for health services, and for the means of wholesome and necessary recreation, would in large part be spent on war."

The present war is the result of "European tensions," Dr. Reisner continued, "and its deep-seated causes will never be removed except in terms of the satisfactory readjustment of European needs. Especially do I not believe that it can be to the interest of the democracies of Europe to destroy Germany so utterly that it can offer no resistance against the military might of Communist Russia."

He warned that if Germany is to be defeated, "it will have to be by means of land armies operating on the mainland of Europe and that would depend upon a new American expeditionary force of many millions of men."

## Blame For Rift With Japan Rests On Administration

### Committee To Fight At Polls For Anti-War Congressmen

Announces It Will Actively Support Senators  
And Representatives Who Keep People's Trust

The America First Committee will make an energetic effort throughout the country to renominate and reelect Senators and Representatives who have kept faith with the people's mandate to avoid participation in the war, it was announced officially this week by the National Committee after meeting at Chicago.

The campaign will be non-partisan, and will not be used as an attempt to build a third political party, the committee said. Anti-war Representatives and Senators—whether Democrats, Republicans, Progressives or Farmer Laborites—will be supported.

**Basic Principle Threatened**  
The Committee's statement follows:

"Today America is confronted with a condition which strikes at the basic principle of the American way of life—government by consent of the governed. We know from the experiences of other countries that fascism results when the legislative branch of the government surrenders to one man its power to make deci-

sions for the people. In the face of this same trend toward fascism in America, the immediate duty of the American people is to return to Congress only those Representatives who faithfully execute the people's trust.

"Accordingly, the America First Committee, which has not sought to influence the election of any candidate for public office, now believes that in due time and in proper compliance with the law, this must be changed. Efforts must be directed toward the renomination and reelection in 1942 of those Senators and Representatives in Congress who have kept faith with the people's mandate to avoid participation in the war.

**Free From Partisanship**

"This program will be undertaken in a spirit free from partisanship and without regard to the political affiliations of the candidates. It will not be used as an attempt to build a third political party. Wholehearted support will be given to those candidates of any political parties conforming to American principles whose records truly reflect the will of the people and the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States.

"The people's determination that Congress shall properly represent their views on the issue of peace or war has had an increasing effect in Congress.

(Continued on page 2)

### President Talks War Without Authorization From People, Congress

A rupture in diplomatic relations between Japan and the United States appeared imminent this week, as a result of either the inability or unwillingness of the President and State Department to adjust questions arising out of Japanese activity in the Far East.

As the Bulletin went to press, it was reported that although discussions with Japan were still

*An analysis of the factors underlying the Japanese situation appears on page 3.*

going on, virtually all hope had been abandoned of reaching any understanding with the Nipponese. Ostensibly, the Administration sought to check a Japanese invasion of Thailand, or Siam—nine thousand miles from San Francisco—and to prevent the Japanese from cutting supply lines to China over the Burma Road. Actually, however, the Administration is more concerned over the fact that a successful invasion of Siam would bring the Japanese closer to the valuable British and Dutch empires in the Far East.

**Japanese Refuse Demands**

The talks in Washington centered around Administration demand that Japan not only remove its troops from the Siamese borders but also bring to a finish its war with China. This the Japanese, according to the reports, refused to do. Consequently the diplomatic conversations reached an impasse, with Washington observers freely

(Continued on page 2)

## Interventionist Raps Churchill

Impatient At Inability  
To Get Blood Spilled

Impatience of the war-makers at their inability to get American blood flowing abroad has manifested itself with irritation even at the work Prime Minister Churchill of Great Britain is doing to get the United States into all-out war.

In a recent address in Montreal, Herbert Agar, editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal and an official of the so-called "Fight for Freedom" group, termed as "disgusting" and untrue the statement by Churchill that if the United States furnished the tools, Great Britain would finish the job.

Mr. Agar was incensed not only because Churchill made that statement, but because the American people have accepted it and are unwilling to go further along the road to war.

He lamented that American men have not been sent abroad, and said that this was so because "the people in the British Empire go on lying and lying to us."

Again and again in his address, Agar assailed the ineffectiveness of British propaganda. He told the Canadians—who have no lease-lend and no involuntary overseas service—that they shall have to use more pointed propaganda if the United States is to be brought into the war with all its manpower.

Agar expressed no dissatisfaction with the way the British are carrying on the war; only the methods they are using to get this country fully into it.

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Newark (New Jersey State): 32 Commerce Street. Market 2-4977.

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## Break Nears With Japan

### Blame Rests Solely Upon Administration

(Continued from page 1)

predicting that a rupture in diplomatic relations would follow.

Newspapers throughout the country have headlined the talks as centering on the issue of "war or peace" with Japan. The President encouraged these headlines by hastening back this week-end from his vacation at Warm Springs, Ga., to warn that American soldiers might "have" to fight within a year. Officials of Australia, Britain, China and the Netherlands were then called in to discuss with Administration officials the steps that would be taken jointly if the Japanese entered Siam.

#### Hundreds of Rumors

It was impossible for the most seasoned Washington newsmen to get the true facts on the Japanese "crisis" this week. There were hundreds of rumors, few of them verifiable. But several undeniable conclusions can be drawn from the facts that are available:

1.—The Administration, and the Administration alone, will be completely responsible for any breakdown in relations with Japan. The Administration has taken it upon itself to demand actions from Japan that in no way concern the national interests of the United States. None of our territorial possessions are in any way involved.

2.—Without any authority from the people or Congress, the Administration has threatened Japan with naval and military opposition. It has talked of war without even the faintest suggestion of authorization for such talk from Congress.

#### Uppermost Question

With these two points established, the uppermost question this week was:

Having threatened to use force against Japan, in the event that Japan does not come to terms, how can the Administration make its threats good?

The American people have no intention of being taken into a war nine thousand miles from home, to fight for foreign empires in a war that has nothing conceivably to do with our own national interests. There is no indication that Congress would approve such a venture.

Apparently the Administration has based its demands on the assumption that it can push the country into an undeclared war in the Pacific. Whether Congress will stand by and permit the President to do this is another question.

### Women's Group Warns On War With Japan

Protection of British possessions would not justify risking one American life in a war with Japan, a resolution by 300 members of Women United, metropolitan women's noninterventionist organization, asserted this week.

The resolution, addressed to President Roosevelt, was adopted at a meeting of Women United Sunday, November 30, at its headquarters, 54 West 46th Street, New York City. The statement warned that the American people are preponderantly against war and that to go to war against the will of the people will result in the destruction of the Constitution.

It urged that the President ask delegates from all nations to attend a peace conference at Washington to formulate a definite program for peace.

## Here Are Your Representatives

These are your elected officials. Write to them today. Demand that they keep the country out of foreign wars. Address Senators at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.; Representatives at the House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

### NEW YORK STATE

**Senators:**  
Robert F. Wagner  
James M. Mead

**Representatives:**  
(At Large)  
Matthew J. Merritt  
Caroline O'Day

**Cong. District**  
1. Leonard W. Hall  
2. William B. Barry  
3. Joseph L. Pfeiffer  
4. Thomas H. Cullen  
5. James H. Heffernan  
6. Andrew L. Somers  
7. John J. Delaney  
8. Donald L. O'Toole  
9. Eugene J. Keogh  
10. Emanuel Celler  
11. James A. O'Leary  
12. Samuel Dickstein  
13. Louis J. Capozzoli  
14. Arthur G. Klein  
15. Michael Joseph Kennedy  
16. William T. Pfeiffer  
17. Joseph Clark Baldwin

18. Martin J. Kennedy  
19. Sol Bloom  
20. Vito Marcantonio  
21. Joseph A. Gavanagh  
22. Walter A. Lynch  
23. Charles A. Buckley  
24. James M. Fitzpatrick  
25. Ralph Abernethy Gamble  
26. Hamilton Fish  
27. Lewis K. Rockefeller  
28. William Thomas Byrne  
29. E. Harold Cluett  
30. Frank Crowther  
31. Clarence E. Kilburn  
32. Francis D. Calkin  
33. Fred J. Douglas  
34. Edwin Arthur Hall  
35. Clarence E. Hancock  
36. John Taber  
37. W. Sterling Cole  
38. Joseph J. O'Brien  
39. James W. Wadsworth  
40. Walter Gresham Andrews  
41. Alfred E. Belfer  
42. John C. Butler  
43. Daniel Alden Reed

### NEW JERSEY

**Senators:**  
William H. Smathers  
W. Warren Barbour

**Representatives:**  
(At Large)  
1. Charles A. Wolverson  
2. Elmer H. Wene  
3. William H. Sulphin  
4. D. Lane Powers

5. Charles Aubrey Eaton  
6. Donald H. McLean  
7. J. Parnell Thomas  
8. Gordon Canfield  
9. Frank C. Osmer, Jr.  
10. Fred A. Hartley, Jr.  
11. Albert Lincoln Vreeland  
12. Robert Winthrop Kean  
13. Mary Teresa Norton  
14. Edward J. Hart

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**Senators:**  
Francis T. Maloney  
John A. Danaher

**Representatives:**  
(At Large)  
Lucien L. Maciora

**Cong. District**  
1. Herman Kopplemann  
2. William J. Fitzgerald  
3. James A. Shanley  
4. Leroy D. Downs  
5. J. Joseph Smith

## Committee To Fight At Polls For Anti-War Congressmen

### Announces It Will Actively Support Senators And Representatives Who Keep People's Trust

(Continued from page 1)

With each succeeding measure more Senators and Representatives of all parties have rallied to our side. The most recent vote in the House of Representatives represented the greatest gains which the side of nonintervention has made thus far.

#### Administration Pressure Cited

"Members of Congress who have manifested a disposition to vote against further steps toward war have been subjected to the most drastic pressure by the Administration. Mr. Wendell Willkie too has indicated his intention to attempt to purge Republican Senators and Representatives who dare to support the pledge in their own party platform against entering the war.

"The America First Committee therefore now feels it to be its duty to enable its members in any state or district to counteract these pressures, and themselves to mobilize their supporters behind those public officials who oppose further steps to involve us in war.

"In carrying this fight into the primaries and general elections those who have sympathized with the objectives of the America First Committee are exercising the basic rights and duties of American citizenship.

"It is a step which has been made necessary and inevitable by the President's persistent efforts to deny to the American people any voice in the gravest

issue which has ever confronted them.

"This program will be undertaken in accordance with the best traditions of American democracy and with the knowledge that it will contribute to the preservation of representative government and the cause of freedom in America."

Detailed plans for this project are now being developed.

Keep informed! Subscribe for the Bulletin today. Coupon on Page One.

## Woodrow Wilson "Fathered" Hitlerism, British Press Lord Implies In Letter

In the opinion of Lord Kemsley, one of the most powerful British press lords, Woodrow Wilson was the "father" of Hitlerism, and American intervention in the World War was "meddlesome and aggravating interference." It is asserted editorially by the "Christian Century" magazine in its December 3 issue.

Analyzing a recent letter from Lord Kemsley to Col. Robert R. McCormack, editor and publisher of the Chicago Tribune, the magazine says that the Lord blames the United States for the unhappy relationship between the English and Americans following the World War. His attitude, the publication charges, is "a slap in the face to the very Americans who are today working hardest to induce the United States to intervene again" in behalf of Britain.

"Christian Century" quotes the following passage from Lord Kemsley's letter:

"Who was primarily responsible for disintegrating terms of that (Versailles) peace?"

"Who was responsible for the drawing up of the 14 points which ultimately brought about the second great war? Who was responsible for the sudden and disastrous withdrawal from con-

tinental affairs after the most meddlesome and aggravating interference in them?"

"Who was it who proposed the league of nations, only to be mainly responsible for its sudden collapse? Who was responsible for putting Germany in a financial position by loans and other methods, a position which enabled her to make her second attack upon the world's peace and bring Europe into a state of general oppression and depression? Who but the Americans themselves?"

The editorial commented:

"Now what does that passage really say?"

"That the conception of a better world order advanced by Woodrow Wilson in his 14 points brought on the second World war; that American intervention in the first World war was 'most meddlesome and aggravating interference,' and that the efforts which the United States made to rescue Europe from the folly of what Mr. Keynes pointed out as the 'economic consequences of peace' launched Germany on her second attack on the peace of Europe.

"Woodrow Wilson the father of Hitler? America's intervention in 1917 'meddlesome interference'?"

## Says War Veterans Oppose U.S. Entry

Col. J. V. Kuznik, U.S.A. retired, who served in the Regular Army for twenty-five years and commanded combat troops in France in the World War, resigned from the American Legion this week because, he charged, "the Legion, as misrepresented by the hand-picked executive committee men, who in most cases are not overseas combat veterans, has been surrendered to the New Deal and is now officially part and parcel of the un-American, hell-bent-for-war Administration."

Col. Kuznik declared that eighty percent of the people are against war to save Bolshevism. "Of the entire Legion membership," he said, "certainly three-quarters strongly oppose the dangerous, belligerent policy of the President."

"Therefore it is obvious that this insignificant but highly sponsored and vociferous part of the Legion cannot be considered representing the will of the Legion members and assuredly not that of the American people."

## MacCracken, Flynn To Address Dinner

Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, president of Vassar College; John T. Flynn, writer, economist, and chairman of the New York chapter, AFC; and Michael Strange, author, will be the guest speakers at the "No A.E.F. Dinner" to be sponsored by the Keep America Out of War Congress Thursday, December 11, at the Town Hall Club, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City.

John F. Finerty, chairman of the Congress, will be toastmaster. An original skit by Morrie Ryskind, playwright, will be presented.

Tickets for the dinner have been priced at \$2 each, and they may be obtained at the Congress headquarters, 22 East 17th Street, New York City.

## Hartley Scheduled As AFC Rally Speaker

Representative Fred A. Hartley, Jr., of New Jersey, was scheduled to be the main speaker at an America First rally held at Our Lady of the Cenacle auditorium, 136-06 87th Street, Richmond Hill, on Thursday, December 4.

## Poster Division Sells AFC Christmas Cards

Christmas cards, engraved in red, blue and gold and bearing the America First emblem, are being sold by the Poster Division of the New York Chapter, AFC, 515 Madison Avenue, New York City. The cards, with envelopes, are available at the rate of fifty cents per dozen at the poster headquarters.

This division is also selling calendars for 1942, size 17 by 11, with a large mezzo-tint reproduction of a portrait of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart, and the name of the America First Committee in gold letters. These are priced at twenty-five cents each.

## Archbishop Attacks U. S. Aid To Russia

Rt. Rev. Michael J. Curley, Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Baltimore and Maryland, severely criticized aid to Russia this week. He said America's new "friends" were responsible for the killing of 20,000 priests and nuns in Spain during the recent Spanish Civil War.

Financial help to a prostrate Germany, the Dawes plan and the Young plan an incitement to a new European war?

"This is not merely dancing on Woodrow Wilson's grave; it is a slap in the face to the very Americans who are today working hardest to induce the United States to intervene again in behalf of a hard pressed Britain."

The editorial said Lord Kemsley could not be dismissed as inconsequential, but is one of the "most powerful of Britain's 'press lords.'" He is one of the leading figures in the Carlton club, where the policy of the Conservative party is fixed.

As an evidence of the relations between England and the United States after the armistice, the editorial cites a quotation from the diary of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Fort Newton, who left a Cedar Rapids, Ia., pulpit to go to London to aid the World war. Written nine days after the Armistice in 1918, it follows:

"To read the London papers now, one would think that America and not Germany, had been then the enemy of England in the war. Every kind of gibe, slur, and sneer is used to poison the public mind against America."



# U.S. Interests Not At Stake In Japanese 'Crisis'

Very suddenly America finds herself confronted with headlines telling her that she may be at war with Japan any day.

Why? How many Americans can tell why we should go to war with Japan? Or what the war is about? How many Americans feel that they wish to shed their blood and sacrifice their wealth in a war with Japan?

Japan has been waging a war against China for the last four years. It is a cruel war. The sympathy of practically all Americans is on the side of the Chinese. But during all these four years no one has seriously proposed that we go to war against Japan to save China. This, therefore, cannot be the reason. What, then, can be the reason for this amazing war proposal?

\* \* \*

## Europeans Exploit Asiatic Peoples

First you must fix your attention on Asia. This vast continent is made up chiefly of Oriental peoples with wholly different cultures and civilizations from ours as well as from each other. For two centuries the lands of Asia and the people in them have been the victims of the European powers. Britain, France, Holland, Russia, Germany have quarreled about those lands.

More than half of the territory of Asia—Siberia—is held by Russia. With the exception of China, almost all of the rest of that continent is held and exploited by France, Britain and Holland.

The greatest of these exploiters is England. She holds and dominates India, British Malaya, Burma, Sarawak, Hong Kong, Palestine. She rules over 600 million Asiatics. The next largest exploiter is Holland. That tiny European state dominates the rich Dutch East Indies—Java, Madura, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes and smaller islands—with a population of 63,000,000.

There is of course not one jot of democracy in either the British or these Dutch empires in Asia. Britain has a tremendous stake in her Indian empire, which has been a great market for her products and whose truly slave labor has been a great asset for her in other world markets. In addition, Britain owns the rich rubber and tin resources of Malaya. The Dutch, similarly, find a rich market in the Indies and own the sugar, rubber, tin and manganese deposits of that Eastern paradise while they rule 63,000,000 Orientals for their benefit.

The United States has very little interest in Asia save the Philippines and our trade with Japan. The trade with Japan is the only valuable material thing we have there. As for the Philippines, we have resolved to give them up—chiefly because they are a liability.

\* \* \*

## Britain Eyes Japan With Great Concern

Because of her vast interests in Asia Britain has viewed with concern the growing movement of Japan to dominate Asia.

What if Japan should one day threaten Britain in India, in Malaya, in other possessions there? What if Japan should eat into Britain's Indian markets, as she has been doing? What



Map shows British and Dutch possessions and route of Aid-to-China involved in discussions between the State Department and Japanese envoys.

if Japan should succeed in stirring up trouble for Britain among her subject peoples? These are serious considerations for Britain's empire—though not for her democracy. Therefore, Britain has from the beginning of the Chinese-Japanese war given all possible assistance to China. She has also made a nice penny out of this trade—for it has not been on a lease-lend basis.

England's great fortress in Asia is at Singapore at the southern tip of Malay. This is her naval base and the nerve center of the arrangements to protect her possessions and dominate that continent.

Now if you will look at the map on this page you will see that England's supplies to China have been going to Chiang-Kai-Shek across what is called the Burma road. Ships take goods to Rangoon and the Chinese cart them by motor truck through Burma—another British possession—into Southern China. This is the cause of the present ferment in Asia.

\* \* \*

## Japan Aims to Stop More Aid To China

Japan is determined to stop the shipment of British supplies across the Burma Road into China. She has therefore sent troops into Indo-China—a French possession.

West of Indo-China is Thailand (Siam). From Siam, Japan could make a drive into Burma to cut off shipments to China. And at the present time she is threatening to do this. She is massing troops on the Thailand frontier. Britain is determined to stop this. And the United States has apparently—through some secret agreement, which the people know nothing of—made up its mind to support England in resisting this attack on the Burma Road.

## Situation Does Not Involve America

Now it is evident that all this has nothing to do with the United States or any attack upon the United States. It is in the interest of China and Britain and Holland. But it is not for China or Holland that we are doing this. We never raised a finger for China in all her four years of war until Britain's eastern empire became involved.

Of course, we do buy rubber and tin and manganese from Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. But no man in his right sense has ever contended that we cannot go on buying these no matter what happens in the East. Malaya, Java and Sumatra find in the United States the principal market for their rubber and tin. To say our supplies there are endangered is a sheer invention. They are endangered only by the action of our government in embroiling us in an Asiatic war and by nothing else.

## Nye Cites Advances In Anti-War Movement

The anti-war movement gained great strength in Congress in the vote to amend the Neutrality Act, Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota said this week in an address at an America First rally at the Central High School, Trenton.

Citing the war-makers' disappointment over the slim margin on the vote, Senator Nye declared that even more "surprising results" will follow the next test in Congress on a question dealing with foreign policy.

## Japan's Actions Not Attack On Us

How can a Japanese attack on the Burma Road be construed as an attack on the United States? It is not in any sense of the word. And if such an attack is made then the President can do nothing about it unless he comes to Congress and asks for a declaration of war on Japan. And if Congress declares war it will be plunging the United States into a vast Asiatic conflict for no reason in this world but to save the British and the Dutch empires in Asia. If it is possible to commit against this country a greater crime than this the human imagination of the war-mongers has not yet envisioned it.

\* \* \*

## To Defeat Japan Would Not Be Easy

There are many Americans who believe that it would be a very simple matter for the United States to knock over the Japs. It would be a good idea for Americans to think this phase of the subject over twice before plunging into trouble.

First of all, Japan has a large navy—and it is a newer navy than ours. We have 15 battleships and she has 10. We have 6 aircraft carriers and she has 7. We have 37 cruisers and she has 44. We have 155 destroyers and she has 135. We have 103 submarines. She has 69. Of course both countries are building new ships. We are building far more than Japan. But it will take a long time before any considerable number of these new ships are finished.

And we must remember this. The war will have to be fought in Asia—6,000, 7,000 and 8,000 miles from our western shores. Furthermore, Japan will concentrate her entire navy right at her door, in the battle zones. We shall have to keep a large part of ours in the Atlantic and near our shores.

In the actual combat zones we shall have fewer vessels by far than Japan and we will have to operate them at an immense distance from our bases of supplies. We shall have to fight on the mainland of Asia. We shall have to transport troops thousands of miles from home and keep them supplied over thousands of miles. We shall require an immense fleet of merchant ships to transport troops and to send ammunition and supplies. Our utility in the Atlantic will be ended.

The commander of the American Navy, two years ago, said that we could not carry on a successful war in the Pacific with the navy we then had and all we hoped to build. If we go into this mad adventure we may be walking into some humiliating disasters—and for what? To fight Britain's battles for her eastern empire. Britain has managed to keep her soldiers pretty well at home. Her battle in Europe now is being fought by Russia. She expects her battle in Asia to be fought by America.

Are Americans prepared to send their sons to the battlefields of China, of Indo-China, of Malaya and Burma to tell the people of Asia how to manage the affairs of Asia, to save India for the British and Java for the Dutch? Yet, if Mr. Hull and Mr. Roosevelt are not restrained, this is precisely what we may be doing before this year is out.



# America First Bulletin

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## Principles Of America First Committee

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it.
2. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
3. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
4. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the occupied countries.
5. We advocate an official advisory vote by the people of the United States on the question of war or peace, so that when Congress decides this question, as the Constitution provides, it may know the opinion of the people on this gravest of all issues.
6. The Constitution of the United States vests the sole power to declare war in Congress. Until Congress has exercised that power it is not only the privilege but the duty of every citizen to express to his Representatives his views on the question of peace or war—in order that this grave issue may be decided in accordance with the will of the people and the best traditions of American democracy.

## Peace

(Continued from page 1)

ism and world remodelling. None of these things can be done without a dictatorship. And so we move slowly to the dictatorship.

All this is being done before our very eyes. Yet those people who have most to lose sit idly around while their world is being pulled down around their ears in the name of democracy in Asia and Africa and the continent of Europe.

A few days ago the OPM representative in New England made a speech to business men in Providence. He told them brutally that the little business man who could convert his plant to production for "defense" had better do so right away or get out of the way. The sooner he curled up and died the better. Business, he said, must make up its mind that 65 per cent of the nation's productive capacity must be turned over to defense. As for the jobber—well, it was flowers for him and an early grave.

There is going to be a New Order in America when this war is over, Mayor LaGuardia told an audience a month ago. One of its features is going to be government spending as much on peace-time activities as on war now. And Mr. Tugwell, a Presidential confidant, told the world some months ago that this government is going to have to spend not three billion, but twelve billion a year permanently to keep the system afloat.

The one big customer of every man in the long run is going to be the government. And it would be well to remember a motto of business—"The customer is always right." The vast majority of the people are opposed to going into this war. But while that is true there is not a city council, not a labor union, not a state legislature, not a chamber of commerce, not a trade association, that will lift its voice against the government's foreign policy. Why? Because the "customer is always right."

Every trade, every business, every town, every state has something to sell to the one great Sovereign Customer. Every organized unit everywhere is interested in getting a defense contract, an airport, an army camp, a grant of funds from the one sovereign spender. In the presence of the paralyzing power of the government's control over business, every voice is now silenced. So that we see the first evidence of that dictatorship which arises out of the economic weapons in the government's hands. But one day these economic weapons will be implemented by political weapons, laws and the abandonment of laws.

When this system of National Socialism now being built here advances further we will see that it can be operated successfully only by strong, ruthless men. Then the weak men, the nice smiling men, the men who dote on being loved by everyone will be swept aside and the strong leaders will step into their place. There is only one feature of National Socialism that has not yet been fastened down irrevocably on us and that is the leader-principle. It is, however, in the making, as all can see. And when it comes those who have been blindly rushing in their madness to a war for democracy in other continents will look with dismay upon the completion of their work—a National Socialist regime in the America of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln.

It is not yet too late to save this nation. But the time grows shorter. There must be a mighty movement that will sweep over the hills and prairies of the west and far west, over the farmsteads of New England, over the great industrial cities of the East against the enthronement of the monster that is already accumulating vitality and power in Washington—the National Socialism of Hitler.

## A Week's Quotes

REV. JAMES M. GILLIS, Editor of the "Catholic World": "We cannot reconstruct religion upon the earth which we ourselves have devastated. If we go into battle with the Cross in one hand and the sword in the other, the peoples whom we conquer will deride us as hypocrites when the battle is over; their resentments will survive the defeat of their arms, and the same unending series of war and revolutions will commence all over again."

SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana: "The only excuse we would have for war with Japan is for the purpose of protecting the British Empire."

ROY R. DOWNER, Columnist, Cedar Rapids Tribune: "The United States has engaged in five wars since the Revolution; but in not one of those wars has blood been shed by any United States Senator, any United States Representative, or any son of any President of the United States."

SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER of Kansas: "If the United States is going to wage war on Germany, Japan or any other nation, the Congress should first declare war. That is the Constitutional way of proceeding. Our fundamental law does not authorize the President to wage war upon his own motion. The present policies of the President are taking us into an undeclared war, which he himself has condemned in Adolf Hitler."

## D. Worth Clark Scores Administration On Japan

Senator D. Worth Clark, Democrat of Idaho, charged this week that the Administration was engaging in "provocative acts" toward Japan and showed an unwillingness to study the Japanese situation realistically. Senator Clark addressed a large rally of the Paterson America First Committee at the Central High School, Paterson, N. J. Representative Fred Hartley of New Jersey also spoke.

## On The Peace Front

Although Stalin has been presented with a billion dollar loan by President Roosevelt, the Soviet Government still denies United States government observers access to its operations at the front. Secretary of War Stimson said this week that he had no reason to believe that American observers will be given greater opportunities to learn what is going on. The Administration has now reached the point where it blithely tosses off a billion dollars—without even really knowing what use is being made of it.

An exhibition of original anti-war cartoons by C. D. Batchelor, editorial cartoonist for the New York Daily News, is now on display at the Village Branch, 519 Sixth Avenue, near 14th Street. The cartoons—an impressive collection of striking reasons against involvement—have attracted much attention and have brought many Villagers into the A.F.C. office.

The Australian Prime Minister, John Curtin, this week announced that Australia would spend \$2,000,000 on propaganda to the United States in an attempt, apparently, to lecture us on our "duties" to defend the British Empire four and five thousand miles from home. A short-wave broadcasting station will be built, and the cable press rate—carrying Australian news stories to this country—is being subsidized to the extent of thirteen cents a word.

Fears for freedom at home of speech and expression—one of the vaunted "freedoms" for which the interventionists seek to wage a crusade in the darkest recesses of the world—were expressed this week as a result of the President's unprecedented action in denouncing as a "disgusting lie" an article concerning the late President of Chile appearing in Time magazine. The President went to the lengths of apologizing to the Chilean government for this article. An apology carries with it an implicit understanding that the offense will not occur again. The only way the President can make his apology good is to prevent Time—and other magazines—from printing similar material of that kind. That is censorship.

The President has a precedent for all this—a Nazi precedent. In 1937, before the war, Otto Dietrich, Nazi press chief, suggested that governments take it upon themselves to see that nothing offensive to other governments appear in their publications. This, of course, would require strict censorship. Apparently the President now believes the Nazi scheme a good one.

Norman Thomas, a leader in the Keep America Out of War Congress, has begun a series of weekly radio programs over thirty independent stations, analyzing the concrete facts why the United States should avoid involvement in the conflict abroad. In this area, Mr. Thomas' talks are broadcast by Station WCOP, Boston, on Sundays from 3:45 to 4:00 P.M.; WABY, Albany, New York, on Wednesdays, 9 to 9:15 P.M.; and WKPA, New Kensington, Pa., on Sundays from 2:00 to 2:15 P.M. His talks will also be broadcast over WHAM, Rochester, N. Y., but the time has not yet been fixed.

## Forthcoming America First Events

FRIDAY, Dec. 5—Ridgewood, N. J., Rally, Glen Rock, Jr., High School, 350 Hudson Street. Speaker:—Prof. William S. Orton.

FRIDAY, Dec. 5—Peabody, Mass. Peabody City Hall. Speakers:—Congressman Joseph B. Shannon, Congressman Fred A. Hartley, Jr.

MONDAY, Dec. 8—White Plains, N. Y., Rally. County Centre. Speakers: Senator Gerald P. Nye, Honorable John Cudahy, Harry Van Rensselaer and Stanley Burke. 8:15 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 10—Jersey City, N. J. Rally. Henry Synder High School Auditorium, 239 Bergen Ave. at Bostwick Ave., Jersey City. Speakers:—Senator Gerald P. Nye, Congressman Harry Sauthoff. 8:15 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 10—Bronx, N. Y., Rally. Swiss Hall. Speakers:—To be announced.

THURSDAY, Dec. 11—Passaic, N. J., Rally. Passaic High School. Speakers:—Emil Morosini Jr., Congressman William Barry.

THURSDAY, Dec. 11—Bridgeport, Conn. Speaker:—Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin.

FRIDAY, Dec. 12—Valley Stream, L. I., Rally. High School Auditorium. Speakers: Senator Gerald P. Nye, Harry Van Rensselaer.

FRIDAY, Dec. 12—Brooklyn, N. Y., Rally. Academy of Music. Speakers:—To be announced.

FRIDAY, Dec. 12—Hackensack, N. J., Rally. Speakers:—To be announced.

SUNDAY, DEC. 14—Revere, Mass. Speakers:—Congressman Joseph Shannon, Emil Morosini, Jr.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 17—Jackson Heights, Rally. Lost Battalion Hall, 93-29 Queens Blvd. Speakers:—Former Senator Rush D. Holt, and others.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 17—RADIO ADDRESS. John T. Flynn speaks on the international situation. WABC and National Columbia Broadcasting network, 10:15-10:30 p.m., EST.

### Regular Weekly Meetings

MONDAY—Elmhurst-Jackson Heights Unit meeting. Queens Headquarters, 75-12 Roosevelt Avenue, Jackson Heights, 8:15 p.m.

MONDAY—Astoria Unit rally, 32-14 Steinway Avenue, Astoria, L. I., 8:30 p.m.

MONDAY—Village Branch weekly meeting, 519 Sixth Avenue (near 14th Street) 8 p.m.

MONDAY—Brooklyn Chapter regular weekly meeting, 44 Court Street, Brooklyn. 8:15 p.m.

TUESDAY—Glendale-Ridgewood unit meeting, 6543 Myrtle Avenue, Glendale. 8:30 p.m.

TUESDAY—Westchester Square Unit rally, East Tremont and Frisby Avenues, the Bronx, 8:30 p.m.

TUESDAY—Valley Stream Unit rally, 404 Rockaway Avenue, Valley Stream, L. I., 8:15 p.m.

TUESDAY—(Second and fourth in each month) Freeport meeting at Freeport headquarters.

TUESDAY—Yonkers Chapter meeting, 45 Warburton Avenue, Yonkers. 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAY—(First and third in each month) Rockville Center meeting at 55 Front Street, Rockville Center.

WEDNESDAY—Woodside unit meeting, 41-26 58th Street, Woodside (near Labor Temple) 8:30 p.m.

WEDNESDAY—Kingsbridge Unit meeting, 231st Street and Kingsbridge Avenue, the Bronx, 8 p.m.

THURSDAY—Wakefield Unit rally, 4325 White Plains Avenue (between 236th and 237th Streets).

THURSDAY—Westchester Square rally, East Tremont Avenue and Eastern Boulevard, the Bronx, 8:30 p.m.

THURSDAY—South Shore Unit meetings, Veterans of Foreign Wars Hall, 245-02 Francis Lewis Boulevard, Rosedale, L. I.; Youth for America First meeting, 7:30 p.m.; Senior meeting, 8:30 p.m.

THURSDAY—Corona Unit meeting, 103-10 39th Avenue, Corona.

THURSDAY—Rosedale unit meeting, 245-02 Francis Lewis Boulevard, Rosedale, L. I. 8:30 p.m.

FRIDAY—Baldwin unit rally at Steele School, Church St., Baldwin.

FRIDAY—South Bronx Unit rally, 128th Street, and Willis Avenue, Bronx, 8 p.m.



